

E 513

.W94

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 703 172 3

Deposited January 29th 1863
Recorded Vol. 38. Page 28.

AN APPEAL

E 513
.W94
Copy 1

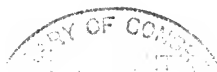
FOR RECTITUDE

IN PRIMARY POLITICS.

BY MOUNTAINEER.

Diseases, desperate grown,
By desperate appliances are relieved,
Or not at all. — *Shakespeare.*

———, first pure, then peaceable, ———
Provide things honest in the sight of all men. — *The Bible.*



5 BOSTON.

ALFRED MUDGE & SON, PRINTERS, 34 SCHOOL ST.

1863.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three,

BY CHARLES WRIGHT,

In the District Court of the United States, for the District of Massachusetts.

2370

AN APPEAL.

INTRODUCTORY.

From the Springfield Republican, Nov. 7, 1862.

REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICT NO. 4, }
Hinsdale, November 5, 1862. }

To the Editor of The Republican: Our district has acquired the bad distinction of the "bolting district." Five elections of the six held since it was formed, have been grossly dishonorable in their events, both to leading individuals and to portions of the people; only one has been without a bolt and a turmoil. Two of the bolts were provoked by rank injustice. Three of them were unprovoked, selfish and shameful; and were marked by alliances with our political enemies. Such a bolt, is the one we have just experienced; and Jarvis Rockwell, Esq., has triumphed by it. He is a lawyer in Hinsdale.

These proceedings have become almost intolerable; many people have been swindled by them, and all have been wronged. Honor is trampled on and become a scoffing; and our political morality — where is it? Echo answers.

I write this note as a protest for the moment. We should try to stop these transactions. I intend to recur to them at no distant day, and to exhibit them freely for the common good. The honest, I apprehend, will make no objection; and we may forego the favor of the dishonest in an effort to serve the public morals.

C. W.

HINSDALE, DEC. 24, 1862.

Fellow Citizens of the District:

If I were not well convinced that the safety of public affairs lies mainly in the public morals, and that the people, in their morality, even among us, develope phases of degeneracy and peril; if I were not now beholding a Great Republic tottering on towards ruin from the disorders of vice and crime, I

might turn from the bold indecencies of the petty politicians among ourselves, and pass along from year to year, as heretofore, silent and ashamed. But a due regard to the relation of things forbids peace and demands action. Somebody must speak, and charity begins at home. You will not, I hope, deem me too assuming as I stand up before you in defence of the common cause. I am not deficient in years, and have been much among you from my youth. Tell me, then, have I shrunk from duty in the relations of the public good? Have I ever betrayed you in your grandest interests—the public knowledge, the public morals? If I have not, then you will not call me immodest in speaking, especially as my head is gray; and as I have never trenched on your treasures nor on your public honors. I may hope to be heard.

And on turning to hear me, you will demand the truth, in justice and for the cause. You will never ask me to withhold it in deference to the vicious, especially if they stand high among us. It were cowardly to attack the weak in vice and to let the strong go free. We could pardon a woman, while we punish a man. Her we may influence in gentleness, while we subdue him to decency. If he will not listen to remonstrance he may be lashed to duty. The spirit of freedom forbids that we should allow the recklessly ambitious to run rampant against the public morals, or to corrupt our government through its laws and politics with impunity. We must confront and oppose them. The war exists and we must fight. The time of universal good will is sure to come, but is not yet. Meanwhile we must have laws—the lower law and the higher, the written and the unwritten—and we must obey them or be punished. Immunity to the guilty is a great wrong to the public. Our governments are too lax. Even the highest Executive—thank Heaven for his integrity—is all too indulgent. He wounds the nation through his kindness to men; until, bleeding as a people, we become faint, and pass tottering along as if ready to fall. Was Cameron decapitated? He was sent

abroad in a ministry of the highest honor, walked over Europe proudly as if all unblotched, and returns to the republic for a further triumph. He would serve us in the Senate. What ought to follow but public ruin when bad men are sustained steadily? And what but disaster when inefficiency and delay for month on month unnerve power and stay the sword? As we would reduce rebellion we should depose vice. To accomplish either requires effort. Inertia is decay and ruin. The supreme law is the common good. It demands action.

Moreover, the individual, in his just associations, has a right to the practice of integrity. He owes that practice to his associates is action; and his associates owe it to him and to all. Should he prove dishonest, he may be duly punished. If his companions betray him, he has a right to be indignant. He is not required to stand by, year after year, the victim of bad faith in his bounden associates, always unresisting and meek. No such tameness, pusillanimous and abject, is due from the American freeman. In a republic the people are the conservators of the right. It is their privilege and duty to maintain integrity. In all its relations to the common good, they are, one and all, to defend and maintain it.

Conceding the justness of sentiments like these, you will permit in the connection a presentation of facts involving your political welfare and name.

On the morning of the fifth of November last the Springfield Republican, in its uniform efficiency, announced the result of the election of the fourth. Success was secured by citizen Rockwell in our district canvass for the General Court. He was announced as a "bolting republican." He had secured a triumph by the aid of the democrats, through the fifth bolt endured by the district in five successive years.

On the morning of the third, this Mr. Rockwell, the only lawyer in all our district—Jarvis Rockwell, Esq., of Hinsdale—having procured the necessary bolting tickets—devised for himself as the bolting candidate—proceeded to Becket and duly

arranged for their presentation at the polls on the fourth. They were passed accordingly. He secured, moreover, an important conference with a leading democrat of the place. On the previous Saturday, November first, he, with an associate, also a republican—Theodore Barrows, Esq.—appeared in Pittsfield, at the office of the Eagle; and, in the absence of the leading editor and proprietor, obtained the printing of a *bolting* ticket, headed as a *republican* ticket. He procured the insertion of his own name on this same ticket, nominally republican, in place of the name of Charles A. Converse, who was the *real* republican candidate. To this essential matter in detail, manifestly important to him as a bolter, he applied his attention personally and alone; save and except as he held the aid of the aforesaid Theodore Barrows, Esq., who is a Justice of the Peace among us. Mr. Rockwell paid the printer.

On the Tuesday previous, October twenty-eighth, our republican district convention was held. Of the votes of the delegates, in all twenty-four, four only were given for him. Of those, but two were of his own town, which had six representatives present. On the second balloting a nomination was made. A majority sustained Mr. Converse. He was declared unanimously nominated. An undoubted republican, intelligent and moral, he gave no cause for a bolt. But in political affairs, "success is a duty;" not fidelity, not integrity, not a high toned honor. The sovereign deity is *Self*; and Mr. Rockwell bent in homage. Nor did he serve alone in these transactions. He had two laborious assistants.

First, there appeared Mr. Charles J. Kittredge. He is a Trial Justice of Hinsdale; and at this same time was the regular nominee of the People's party for the Senate. For years, among our democratic friends, he has served as a prominent leader. In 1857, nominated by them, he assumed the "stump," and "lectured" abroad in the several towns in behalf of himself for the General Court. Since that time he has generally served in aid of republican bolters—always active, always vigilant, and uniformly

a foe to the republican cause. In the present contest, the democratic strength was led as usual by him; while our republican Justice, Theodore Barrows, a man of marked simplicity and zeal, and a free and familiar bolter, persuaded a portion of our republican strength from the cause of political integrity and order, to a personal cause, wholly impertinent, and purely selfish and shameful. In a ready assurance, vociferous and eager, he led the republican bolters. Messrs. Barrows and Kittredge were the leading men on whom Mr. Rockwell seemed to rely for the defeat of the republican nominee and the service of his own ambition.

But neither of these gentlemen remained content with his special leadership alone. Both aspired to additional sway in the sphere of political manœuvre. Mr. Barrows became a compound bolter. He denounced Mr. Jenks, our candidate for the Senate, supported the nominee of the People's party, zealously distributing the republican ticket with the name of Mr. Kittredge carefully pasted over that of the true nominee.

Mr. Kittredge's measures were of a broader import; embracing a no less sweeping purpose than the direction of the republican district convention;—a direction, too, through the *packing* process by confidential action, and by a control in primary caucus. The attempt was a bold one; especially in a democrat, who had no more right in the republican management than any other democrat in the district. Debauched as we are, through a past practice, there yet remained in the republican body enough of strength and political decency to resist and thwart the design.

Mr. Kittredge issued the following call, against the advice of a leading democrat, who strongly opposed all sinuous tactics, and urged an open and positive policy, in the name of the People's party alone. His warrant for the call he found in his office of Town Committee in the "Union" party of 1861! It will be observed that he ignores therein the republican name, in both the town and district relation; and also the state

administration. It could answer only for a People's party; and yet it was designed to secure at the caucus the election of delegates to a *republican* convention; delegates, too, as is well understood, who would cast their votes for Jarvis Rockwell, as a man opposed to Mr. Sumner. I copy from the original:

“NOTICE.

The legal voters of this town in favor of sustaining the present National Administration in the prosecution of the war, are requested to meet at Tuttle's Hall on Saturday evening, the 25th inst., to choose delegates to attend the district convention to be held here on the 28th inst., to nominate a candidate to represent Dis. No. 4 in the next legislature.

C. J. KITTREDGE, Town Committee.*

Hinsdale, Oct. 23, 1862.

Under the call of Mr. Kittredge, the republicans met a throng of democrats and mixed politicians, always their opponents—and eager now to select delegates to a republican district convention. They were friends of Mr. Rockwell. Messrs. Kittredge and Barrows were present, affording eminent aid. Against their persistent and strenuous efforts, the republicans at length dissolved the meeting, as wholly unsuitable for republican action, organised anew as a republican caucus, and performed their legitimate work. Their opponents, defeated, retired in wrath, to meditate duly the bolting process in conjunction with the People's party.

But these engagements of C. J. Kittredge, in the manœuvre of republican affairs, have an earlier date than the aforesaid notice. The following letter to a leading republican in one of the towns in the district relates to the same convention;—nor is

* The text presents a strategical notice; the following is open and above board. Both refer to the same convention:

NOTICE.

The Republican voters of Becket, and such others as are in favor of the present National and State Governments, are requested to meet at the Town Hall, in Becket, on Saturday, the 25th instant, at seven o'clock, P. M., to choose six delegates to meet the convention to be held at Hinsdale, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Representative from District No. 4.

A. M. PERKINS, Committee for Becket.

Becket, Oct. 22d, 1862.

this the only letter missive that appeared in the republican ranks, from the same assiduous source and for the same persuasive aim.

“OFFICE OF THE PLUNKETT WOOLEN CO.
Confidential.

HINSDALE, MASS., OCT. 15, 1862.

— — — — —, Esq.

DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty to ask your views upon the re-election of Hon. Chas. Sumner to the U. S. Senate by the legislature the coming winter? If you think as I do, that we ought to have a more practical statesman to represent our state in Congress, I hope you will see that anti-Sumner delegates from your town be sent to the convention to be holden here on the 28th instant.

Very truly yours,

C. J. KITTREDGE.”

Had C. J. Kittredge any right to presume that an honorable republican would confer “confidentially” with a political opponent in relation to *packing* a republican convention? It is safe to say that overtures of the kind, from an opposing party, can neither be made nor accepted in honor. They are not entitled to “confidence.”

Meanwhile, Mr. Rockwell, in these events, maintained a due suavity. Moreover, he was uniformly ingenious and *wise*. He once declared himself “unpledged;” though this, perhaps, was said in “confidence.” His recognized friends, democrats and republicans, maintained, respectively, that he was really *against*, and really *for* the re-election of Mr. Sumner to the Senate. Our leading democrats were especially assured. To a leading republican, he urged as a reason in his own behalf, that no bolt would ensue if he were nominated; while—he remarked—should the republicans nominate some one else, a man of denfined position, it would be proper to anticipate a bolting candidate. And the result verified the prediction. At the critical juncture he appeared in the field, nominating himself, a republican bolter bound for success, without a constituency visibly organized, maintaining a position not unqualified, holding a direction dubious.

"On two unequal crutches prop'ed, he came."

"One eye was blinking, and one leg was lame."

He secured the strength of our democratic friends. They thought he was with them. He secured a portion of the republican body. They were equally sure of his aid. He secured a triumph. How he will vote on the Senatorial question, remains a matter of grave speculation. I have always thought he would vote for Sumner; and I must still believe he will blink the claims of his recent friends of the People's party. "Success" remains a "duty" still; and if he cannot dodge, he may yet be seen in conjunction with the large republican majority. But in these conjectures it were easy to err. It is safe to forbear a prediction. I may properly add that this representative, who thus illustrates political integrity, is an educated man—liberally educated,—a graduate of Williams College, and a member of the Berkshire bar. And what of our work in this election? Have we set forth an incipient statesman, perchance of the stamp of Banks, or of a Henry Wilson, or a Senator Simmons, or yet of a Simon Cameron?—a winner, low and slippery? It were well for us to review events; and for him to accept a kindly warning.

Such, gentlemen, are some of the incidents that mark your recent election. I have presented them briefly as significant incidents among a mass altogether too numerous for a full and free exhibition. And this is the *fifth* of the bolts endured, by this representative district, in five successive years. It is the third, moreover, that has presented the feature most repulsive to political honor,—*an open alliance with an opposite party to secure a personal triumph*. Only two of the bolts remained uninvolved in the baseness of such a betrayal. These two, though provoked by rank injustice, were not disgraced by a foreign alliance. They were affairs of the family; and however disgraceful in the primary causes, were still retained in the family precincts. I refer to the Washington bolt of 1860,

and the one in Hinsdale of four years ago. They all illustrate our political morality. They were all successful but one; and what is the result? A gross and shameful demoralization throughout the representative district. To bolt is the rule—regularity the exception. *Success* is in defiance of political morality. An unscrupulous selfishness dominates. The whole order of party is defective and weak; its productions corrupt; its result, debasement. And has this no relation to the public laws?—to the public government?—to the due maintenance of the republican form? Can political corruption contaminate parties, debase legislatures and still maintain the affairs of State? We ought to remember that party is a necessity among a free people; as much a necessity as a legislative body; because in a republic, opinion rules, and opinions differ in relation to measures and men. Hence the necessity of political integrity; of upright parties and politics. From them proceed the legislative bodies, and the administration of public affairs. If parties are corrupt, so is the government. AS WE WOULD CORRECT GOVERNMENT WE SHOULD REFORM PARTIES; FOR POLITICS AND PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ARE INSEPARABLE.*

And we should begin at home! We have heretofore failed in mere expedients. May we revert to TRUTH? May we say to the delinquent, "*Thou art the man?*" Am I, herein, too explicit and personal? Is a revelation of truth, in the conduct of men in public relations, for the public good, a fit and proper appeal? If not, then what shall we do? The evil remains in all its amplitude. The amount of chicanery, tergiversation, trickery, dishonor and shame involved in one of these annual scrambles for a seat in the General Court, no one but a worker in the political arena can properly appreciate or duly set forth.

* The vices of politicians are adopted with the greatest facility. They comport with the natural selfishness of men. "But the politician's improvements"—I quote from no less authority than Dr. Johnson—"are opposed by every passion that can exclude conviction or suppress it; by ambition, by avarice, by hope, and by terror, by public faction, and private animosity."

No one but a ready and voluminous writer would attempt their entire narration. Nay more. It is the fashion of the times to let them pass. Nay more. It is only in peril of political death that any one can duly reveal them. And why? Because you are indifferent while the rogues are awake. You, as a whole, are quite too careless, quite too selfish to protect or uphold any man who dares point out the political parasite—portray the aspiring demagogue. You would hunt up a thief who had stolen your pig,—how many of you do as much for your politics?—as much for political integrity? You permit politicians, year after year, once and again and again, to assume your prerogatives for their own selfish ends. They swarm in positions of emolument and honor, in utter contempt of political honesty,—in imminent peril of our republican form. And you remain content! As if these affairs were not your affairs! No political outrage serves to arouse you. Political delinquents are not set aside, much less punished. They remain your aids in ostensible honor. In this very year in the town of Peru—and none of our towns surpass it in honesty—a republican caucus, duly constituted, elected three republican delegates to act in our senatorial district convention. The whole delegation—men of intelligence—instead of going to the republican convention and serving in the republican cause, went into the convention of the People's party and served in nominating C. J. Kittredge in opposition to the republican candidate! And no satisfaction is had. The leading man in this delegation continues in impunity—dumb. His name is S. S. Bowen. And Peru is quiet. The means in this most strange transaction remain but partially known.

But this is known. The assiduous C. J. Kittredge, Esq., was familiar with the movement in advance. He announced it duly to another republican, of another town, whose aid he sought in the same relation. Nor is it impossible that, as a "means" in part, he "confidentially" assured some of these men that he himself was a "good" republican. It is certain that he so averred of himself on one or two other occa-

sions. It is certain, too, that to a direct question, purposely put in the presence of a substantial citizen, he was fain to say, in fact, that he was *not* a republican.

And more is known. Messrs. Kittredge and Bowen were familiar allies in the events of the previous year. This same Mr. Bowen was then a candidate — up as a bolter — for Boston; and the records of the state bear his name as our representative in the General Court. The demure and amiable Bowen! To secure the desirable end, he assumed the bolter's name and place against his political friend and neighbor, Benjamin F. Pierce, Esq., who was fairly presented as the town nominee, (in the rotation system, by the rule then recognised,) who was fairly nominated by the district convention; and who, moreover, as the rightful candidate, received at the election the vote of his Peru fellow citizens. Still, Bowen was elected through the shameful defection of our political associates, who had entered our house and eaten our bread as "friends" in the "Union" movement. And C. J. Kittredge urged on this bolt in behalf of the ambitious Bowen; who in the present year, as we have already seen, appeared in himself and his republican *trusts*, at the People's party convention to aid Mr. Kittredge to a seat in the Senate! Surpassing fidelity! Reciprocal honor! Mr. Bowen remains in regular standing, a republican all unimpugned, as if he were honest and true!

It were curious in the connection to prosecute the affair of the treachery to B. F. Pierce. Why was he "knifed?" Because, forsooth, C. J. Kittredge and some others such, maintained that he was "too radical" a man. He was just as radical as the free soil republicans throughout the commonwealth — no more, no less — and he was the fair nominee of the "Union" party.

But if he was too radical, what, pray tell us, of the Hon. Thomas F. Plunkett? A man of compromises, devoted to trade, always a democrat, always our foe, was he too highly conservative? O no! The free soil republicans, throughout

the district, could vote *en masse* for him, because he was a regular candidate in the organized "union." And, yet, Mr. Pierce, in the same "union," was equally a regular candidate. Thomas F. Plunkett, adroit at chess, is no less adroit, in the political game. He has always held the ears of his friends. He should have held his henchmen. Our allies stabbed us in a shameful treachery. Benjamin F. Pierce was wronged. He is a man who deserves better things; and contemptible, indeed, is the political practice that can serve in so base a betrayal of acknowledged ability and worth. He is now enrolled in the national army, a volunteer soldier; moreover, a private; where two of the Plunketts serve in command. Such is the triumph of worth among us. Such is the way of "success."

Nor is this the whole of the house of Bowen. The senior of the firm of W. S. & S. S. Bowen, a mercantile firm of Peru, served three years ago, a conspicuous bolter, in conjunction with the same Mr. Kittredge. They hove up our affairs in turmoil and shame, to defeat the fair nominee of the district, Andrew Jackson Babbitt, Esq.,—a "Harry of the Wynd" among us. They failed. The democrats of the rank, better organized then, refused to ratify the alliance. The bolters met with a melancholy fall. It was sad to behold them; but in spite of our efforts they seized our contempt, though we freely and cheerfully gave them our pity. They *rolled* in the mud and *loved* to roll! It was a case in the "bogus" practice. We had the bogus caucuses, the bogus delegations, and, I was about to add, the bogus piety, withall. They appealed to bigotry.

Our friend, Mr. Babbitt, was somewhat given to the Universalist faith and name. "A Universalist, forsooth! Heaven forefend!" was the language of our opponents' conduct. It was a heterodox *gnat* that some of our friends, were wholly unable to swallow, though they had all along compassed the heterodox *camels* without any manifest *strain*. What pray tell us, is the religious orthodoxy of the Hon. Thomas F. Plunkett? He is reputed a man of physical affairs. And

surely men of the christian name, in political affairs, among themselves, may well recollect that we hold to a government, supreme in power, in whose constitution there is no recognition of God. "*The Constitution as it is!*" We ought to hold a National Convention, if for no other purpose than to amend it in that very thing. It is but just to add, in this connection, that our political friends of religious orthodoxy—more especially the gentlemen Kittredge and Bowen, who were among the loudest of Mr. Babbitt's denouncers—were among the leading immolators of Pierce, who is undoubtedly orthodox—having served as a Congregational deacon; a religious relation, I may properly add, that Mr. Kittredge himself maintains. O bounden brethren! O charitable churchmen! And the outside world, alas, how obdurate!

But further, briefly, of the "bogus" practice in the aforesaid memorable bolt. One body of delegates, full and strong, numerous enough to control the convention, had they been able to establish their seats, were of the amplest type in the bogus line—pure, unblushing, bald. They were *privately* chosen, in a *packed* caucus of *minority* men, who were *slily* assembled under calls that were *secretly* posted for the *moment* only (to *secretly* "answer the law"), and were then *transferred* and *hidden*! And there were men in this, concocting and executing persistently day after day, who had served in the State Legislature! It were not unbecoming in this sort of men—surely not unbecoming—when in session as law-makers at Boston, to accept donations in *penknives*, etc., through their beneficent friends, the doorkeepers, sergeants and clerks; nor to persist in appropriating editions of statutes, through excessive contracts, in shameful selfishness, to themselves; nor yet to manœuvre in corrupt coalitions to promote the political demagogue. And if we of Massachusetts, reputed as moral, who ought to be second to none, elevate such men to political trusts, what may we anticipate abroad? The following statement is fully significant:

From the Albany Journal of the 16th inst.

VENAL CONGRESSMEN.—Certain New York members of Congress are said to have been detected in receiving fees for procuring commissions in the army, in one case charging as high as four hundred dollars for their services in procuring a single commission of a low grade.—*[Cincinnati Gazette.]*

We have heard similar rumors, and they point to Hon. Alfred Ely, Representative in Congress from the Monroe district in this State. A case like this is stated: A young gentleman from his district was an applicant for a position in the navy. The application was pressed for some time, but without apparent success, when Mr. Ely informed the young man that there was another applicant for the place, who could be bought off for \$250. This amount was handed over to the member, and the commission was soon after secured. Subsequently, as the story goes, it was ascertained that there was not only no other applicant in the way, but that Mr. Ely had the commission in his pocket when he bargained for the \$250!

Several other cases, of a similar character, are being brought to light.

One of Mr. Ely's brokers, one Brown, of Rochester, is an applicant for Paymaster in the Navy. This position, requiring the highest integrity, is to be secured for the applicant, if possible, to reward him for his past services in behalf of this "venal Congressman." "Like master, like man," is an old adage; and the community in which both "master" and "man" live, do them both injustice if either of them are proper persons to occupy the responsible position of Paymaster in the Navy.

This Mr. Ely, as I am informed, secured his election to the National Congress by manœuvres such as are common with us. "Do men gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles?" Can a man who is a knave at *one* stage of his progress be relied on as honest at *another*? It is safe to say — I so regard it — that the legislatures, as a whole, throughout the land, are made up largely of men who are just as immoral, in one way or another, as is this Mr. Ely, of Rochester. And still the republic lives!

Thus, gentlemen, are politicians permitted, in the utmost impunity, to violate honor in the political relation as if it held no relation to law, no relation to government, no relation to war, dissolution, ruin. Our republican form is in the way of anarchy purely because the mass of the people, slack in morality, careless in duty, wholly neglect our primary politics, as if the fraud

and dishonor, incipiently practiced, bore no significance in our imminent peril. If the fountains are poisoned, pray what of the stream? It becomes a river of death. The nation drinks and fails.

Finally, gentlemen, accept my thanks. I duly appreciate your patience. At a future day I may venture to address you in the same relation, should I have reason to suppose I can thereby serve in aid of political integrity. Let me say, for the present, that the men who hold your political trusts in derogation of political honor, are not independent of popular action. Your voice may resound in tones of terror to their wholesome control, and in suitable warning to others.

You may openly unite in demonstrative action. You may request Mr. Rockwell to resign his position for the public good, and to forego in the future all promotion of self through a self-pushing course, as clearly subversive of our republican form. This, moreover, would serve as a caution to his friend in ambition, Mr. C. J. Kittredge; whose vigorous efforts in the same relation have not yet secured a personal triumph. And what shall we say of Theodore Barrows—the always willing and wise? It were enough, perhaps—and not impertinent—to inquire by what appliances he secured a Justice's commission. And it were pertinent also to ask ourselves if either Mr. Barrows or C. J. Kittredge are suitable men in our home judiciary. If they are not, then wherein is the remedy? But the behavior of these men has some palliation in your own habitual neglect. A popular carelessness has kept back worth, and left open the way to a bold ambition, unscrupulous, faithless, immoral. And the evil is general. Since the domination of "spoils," in the last thirty years, honest men remain more and more unknown, inexperienced in public affairs and remote from political promotion. Hence our political dishonor and shame. Hence the supremacy of "self" and the sway of "corruption" in all our public affairs. Hence the national peril.



0 013 703 172 3

From the whelming penalties of our political degeneracy we should arouse to political reform. The true restorative is in a popular vigilance, through a just political morality. It involves time. We ought to begin. In the favor of Heaven may the people awake to life in *Truth and Duty*.

Nor let the faithful fail !

“Ye noble few ! who here unbending stand,
Beneath life's pressure, yet bear up awhile.—”

“Truth crushed to earth will rise again ;
The eternal years of God are hers.”

MOUNTAINEER.

E 513

.W94

